

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 186145 TOSEC 080190

NODIS

WHITE HOUSE FOR DR. BRZEZINSKI ONLY

FOLLOWING REPEAT ALEXANDRIA 813 ACTION SECSTATE AUG 8

QUOTE S E C R E T ALEXANDRIA 0813

NODIS

DEPT PASS SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR IN ALEXANDRIA

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (VANCE, CYRUS), JO, US, U

SUBJECT: FAHMY ON PLO STATEMENT

REF: SECTO 08075

SUMMARY: INFORMED FAHMY TODAY THAT PLO DRAFT FORMULA-
TION RE RESOLUTION 242 INSUFFICIENT. IN GIVING HIM DRAFT
REFORMULATION CITED REFTEL, I ADDED (A) FORMULATION YOU
AND HE HAD ORIGINALLY DEVISED HAD NOW ALSO BEEN SENT TO
SAUDIS TO AVOID ANY FURTHER CONFUSION AND (B) IN ADDITION,
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DRAFT REFORMULATION HAS BEEN SENT TO SAUDIS, SYRIANS AND
JORDANIANS TO INSURE WE ALL WORKING FROM SAME TEXT. FAHMY
CLEARLY EXPECTED PLO DRAFT FORMULATION BE TURNED DOWN AND
AT ONCE AGREED SEND YOUR REFORMULATION TO ARAFAT FOR STUDY.
HE WAS SLIGHTLY UPSET THAT IN ADDITION TO EGYPTIANS AND
SAUDIS, DRAFT REFORMULATION HAS BEEN SENT TO SYRIANS AND
JORDANIANS. HE OPINED THEY WILL USE IT TO ABORT EFFORT

TO ESTABLISH OPEN USG-PLO DIALOGUE, WHICH HE ARGUED NEITHER OF THEM WANTS, AND WONDERED OUT LOUD IF OUR ACTION WAS DELIBERATE EFFORT TO SCUTTLE IDEA BEFORE IT GOT OFF GROUND. I DENIED ANY SUCH INTENTION AND RE-EMPHASIZED OUR SOLE PURPOSE IS INSURE THAT ALL PARTIES KNOW WHAT WE ARE SAYING AND TO AVOID ANY CONFUSION OR MISUNDERSTANDING. FAHMY THOUGHT SAUDIS AND EGYPTIANS COULD TOGETHER WORK ON PLO THROUGH WHAT WOULD PROBABLY BE FOUR OR FIVE EXCHANGES TO AGREE ON A SATISFACTORY FORMULATION, BUT PROFESSED TO BE LESS SANGUINE RE PROSPECTS WITH SYRIANS AND JORDANIANS NOW ALSO INVOLVED. HE EMPHASIZED ANY DIALOGUE WE EVENTUALLY INITIATE WITH PLO SHOULD BE OPEN AND ABOVE BOARD IF PLO IS TO BE ASKED TAKE RISK OF ISSUING STATEMENT OF TYPE WE REQUIRE. END SUMMARY.

1. MET WITH FAHMY THIS MORNING TO CONVEY YOUR REACTION TO PLO DRAFT FORMULATION RE RESOLUTION 242(ALEXANDRIA 805). TOLD HIM YOU SHARE VIEW I HAD EARLIER EXPRESSED TO HIM THAT PROPOSED PLO FORMULATION DOES NOT IN FACT CONSTITUTE AN ACCEPTANCE OF RESOLUTION 242. AS FAHMY WOULD APPRECIATE, IF WE AGREED TO OPEN CONTACTS WITH PLO ON BASIS SUCH FORMULATION, WE WOULD BE VULNERABLE TO CHARGES OF BAD FAITH. THIS WOULD MAKE IT DIFFICULT TO MOBILIZE SUPPORT AT HOME FOR WHAT WILL IN ANY CASE BE A CONTROVERSIAL MOVE ON OUR PART. WHILE WE DO NOT
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INSIST THAT PLO RESERVATION BE WORDED PRECISELY ALONG LINES YOU AND FAHMY HAD AGREED UPON, IT SHOULD NOT BE WORDED IN A MANNER THAT IMPLIES CONTINUED NON-ACCEPTANCE. ALSO TOLD HIM THAT WE HAVE NOW SENT SAUDIS THE FORMULATION YOU AND HE HAD AGREED UPON SO THAT THERE WOULD BE NO FURTHER CONFUSION, ESPECIALLY AFTER SAUDIS HAD GIVEN ARAFAT A FORMULATION OF THEIR OWN WHICH VARIES FROM THAT YOU AND HE HAD DEVISED.

2. I THEN GAVE FAHMY THE PROPOSED REFORMULATION, INDICATING YOU WOULD HAVE NO OBJECTION IF HE SHOULD WISH TO SUGGEST IT TO THE PLO. HE READ IT AND OBSERVED IT IS VERY SIMILAR TO THE FORMULATION YOU AND HE HAD AGREED UPON. HE WAS CLEARLY PREPARED FOR A REJECTION OF THE PLO PROPOSED FORMULATION. HE GAVE INSTRUCTIONS TO AN AIDE TO SEND THE REFORMULATION TO ARAFAT AT ONCE AND TO ELICIT HIS VIEWS. SHOULD IT BE DESIRABLE TO DO SO, FAHMY NOTED, HE WILL INVITE ARAFAT TO COME TO ALEXANDRIA AGAIN.

3. WHEN I TOLD HIM THAT WE ARE ALSO GIVING REFORMULATION TO SAUDIS, SYRIANS AND JORDANIANS, FAHMY WAS SOMEWHAT

UPSET. HE HAD NO OBJECTION TO GIVING IT TO THE SAUDIS, BUT OPINED THAT THE SYRIANS AND THE JORDANIANS WILL FOR REASONS OF THEIR OWN TORPEDO THE EFFORT. HUSSEIN IS NOT ANXIOUS THAT WE INITIATE CONTACTS WITH THE PLO, WHILE THE SYRIANS WILL USE THE INFORMATION IN THEIR EFFORT TO ALTER PLO LEADERSHIP CONFIGURATION. FAHMY WONDERED IF WE HAD DECIDED TO GIVE IT TO THE SYRIANS AND JORDANIANS AS A DELIBERATE EFFORT TO ABORT THE IDEA, WHICH HE THOUGHT WILL PROBABLY RESULT FROM OUR ACTION. THE SAUDIS AND EGYPTIANS, IN HIS VIEW, ARE ANXIOUS TO HAVE AN OPEN DIALOGUE ESTABLISHED BETWEEN USG AND PLO; THE SYRIANS AND JORDANIANS MAY GIVE LIP SERVICE TO THE IDEA, BUT ACTUALLY OPPOSE IT. I EMPHASIEZED TO HIM THAT OUR ACTION IN GIVING THE REFORMULATION TO ALL THREE IS SECRET

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IN NO WAY INTENDED TO SCUTTLE THE EFFORT, BUT TO BE SURE THAT ALL OF US ARE WORKING FROM SAME TEXT. FAHMY REMAINED CONVINCED THAT WE HAD MADE A MISTAKE IN GIVING IT TO THE SYRIANS AND JORDANIANS. IF WE HAD SIMPLY GIVEN IT TO THE SAUDIS AND EGYPTIANS, BOTH COULD HAVE PRESSED PLO TO ARRIVE AT MUTUALLY SATISFACTORY FORMULATION. IT MIGHT HAVE TAKEN FOUR OR FIVE EXCHANGES, BUT IN HIS VIEW THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN REASONABLE PROSPECT THAT AN ACCEPTABLE FORMULATION COULD HAVE BEEN FOUND. WITH LIKELY SYRIAN AND JORDANIAN INVOLVEMENT IN THE EFFORT, HE WAS LESS SANGUINE THAT ANYTHING WILL COME OUT OF IT.

4. IN AGREEING TO SEND THE REFORMULATION TO ARAFAT, FAHMY AGAIN MADE THE POINT THAT ANY DIALOGUE BETWEEN USG AND PLO SHOULD BE OPEN AND ABOVE BOARD. IT SHOULD NOT BE SECRET. ONLY IF IT IS OPEN CAN PLO LEADERSHIP BE ASKED TO TAKE THE RISK OF ISSUING SOME KIND OF A STATEMENT. I SAID I DID NOT KNOW PRECISE NATURE OF WHAT YOU AND HE HAD AGREED UPON IN THIS REGARD, BUT NOTED REF MESSAGE SPEAKS OF "OPEN CONTACTS WITH PLO," WHICH SHOULD ALLAY HIS CONCERN. FAHMY STATED THAT THIS IS IN ACCORD WITH YOUR PERTINENT TALK AND SEEMED SATISFIED.
C

CHASE. UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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